

eloquent remembrance by the Senator from West Virginia.

I am sorry that I did not have the opportunity to know Dr. Halverson and was not a participant in the prayer breakfasts. I attended his service this week. The Senator from West Virginia certainly does him great honor, and we appreciate it.

Mr. LAUTENBERG addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey.

#### THE REFUGEE PROGRAM

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, yesterday my good friend and colleague from Wyoming, Senator SIMPSON, made some comments, and particularly made reference to the so-called Lautenberg refugee program. Though Senator SIMPSON and I agree on some things and disagree sharply on some things, there is, on balance, mutual respect and I might even say affection. So where we disagree on this issue, it is because of a perspective on the issue.

However, during his presentation on the floor, he used references such as the so-called Lautenberg refugee bill. He used adjectives like derelict or deficient, that this bill was no longer of any value, and I just would like to clear the record.

Current law, under our immigration code, facilitates the granting of refugee status for certain historically persecuted groups. The existing law formally recognizes the historic experiences of certain persecuted religious minorities in the Soviet Union and Indochina, and the pattern of our denial of refugee status to members of those minorities entitles them to a relaxed standard of proof in determinations about whether they are refugees. The law lowers the evidentiary standard required to qualify for refugee status for Evangelical Christians, for Jews from the Soviet Union, certain Ukrainians, and some categories of Indo-Chinese.

Once a refugee applicant proves that he or she is a member of one of these groups, he or she has to prove a credible basis for concern about the possibility of persecution. Refugee applicants normally must establish a well-founded fear of persecution. The law has had a real and positive impact on refugee adjudication for persecuted individuals.

In his comments to the Senate yesterday, Senator SIMPSON said that there is evidence that members of the Russian mafia are using the program to enter the United States. I want to be perfectly clear that the refugee program was not intended to enable criminals to enter our country. It was not designed to facilitate entry into the United States by those not qualified under the description of refugee status.

Further, Mr. President, in my former life I was in the computer business and still have a lot of contact there. I have seen many of these people who have come, under the refugee exclusion, into

the design and programming phases of the computer industry, many of them entrepreneurs. I have met those who, in a very short period of time, have learned enough of the English language to practice law and become physicians. So we dare not accept one generalization that those who are using the program are principally members of the Russian mafia, that the gangsters are using this, because if they are, then it is not the fault of those who are coming.

It is my understanding that under United States law an applicant should be denied refugee status if our Government knows that he is a criminal, or for some reason or other is excluded from entry into the United States. So where does the responsibility lie? It lies with the INS or the State Department. They have to do a better job in weeding those people out based on current law.

The refugee program was intended to help historically persecuted religious minorities, certainly not criminals.

My friend, the Senator from Wyoming, also said the program is no longer necessary because we have good relations with Russia and that the program has been abused. As a matter of fact, I was stunned when I heard the Senator from Wyoming describe Russia as our best friend. I would say that is hyperbolic at least. Russia, our best friend? We want them to be a good friend, we want them to be an ally, but certainly one cannot say that they are now our best friend and that they are behaving like a democracy as we know it. And although he describes the program as being discredited, the fact is that it has served as a useful opportunity for those who are very concerned about what is going to happen and what has taken place in terms of their relationship with Russia and the former Soviet Union countries.

There is still a tremendous amount of instability in that area, and although anti-Semitism is no longer officially State sponsored, its roots run deep throughout the culture and its effects are felt in incidents across Russia and many of the other former Soviet Union countries. And now we are all made abruptly aware that on this coming Sunday, when elections are going to be held in Russia, there is a strong belief that those who are most likely to win seats are members of the Communist Party, avowed reformists. But the fact is we know that if people are looking fondly back to electing Communists to Government, with it goes a standard that has been set by those people for decades in that area. And so those who have been harassed in the past, who are likely to run into problems are very worried about what the future holds.

So if there are some who seek to abuse the program, as Senator SIMPSON claims, it is the responsibility of our Government to weed out that abuse. We do not stop collecting taxes in this country if someone abuses the Tax

Code. What we do is we go after them vigorously. And the same thing is true here. Our Government should eliminate the abuse if there is any in the program. It is not a reason to say that a program that has helped legitimate refugees is discredited.

Mr. President, the House version of the State authorization bill includes a 1-year extension of this program, a program that has provided a useful escape valve for historically persecuted people who come to this country and make a contribution to our society. In light of existing instability in the former Soviet Union, I believe that this program ought to be extended for another year. What it takes is our conferees in discussion to agree with the House.

I hope that will take place to give this program another year to work until we see what the conditions are going to be like in Russia in particular and some of the other countries of the former Soviet Union.

I yield the floor.

#### REFUGEES FROM FORMER SOVIET UNION

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, yesterday, the distinguished chairman of the Senate Immigration Subcommittee, spoke against the Lautenberg amendment which assists refugees from the former Soviet Union and which is reauthorized under the House version of the State Department reauthorization bill.

I support the amendment because it works. It has facilitated the rescue of more than 250,000 persecuted Jews and other minorities from the former Soviet Union since Congress adopted it in 1989. For decades, the United States led the world in seeking the release of the refuseniks and urging freedom of emigration under the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Having come this far, we should not abandon this historic commitment by bringing this humanitarian program to a premature end.

Clearly, major political changes have occurred in the region. The Soviet Union is now the former Soviet Union. And most people there enjoy greater freedom today than they did a decade ago.

But we only need to read the headlines to know that the region continues to face great upheaval. Jews and other minorities in the former Soviet Union are still the victims of persecution and deep-seated hatred and antisemitism.

When Senator SIMPSON and I met with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees earlier this year, she said she considered the former Soviet Union to be the most explosive part of the world for refugees. And visitors to the region over the past year have discovered alarming levels of antisemitic persecution.

An American delegation to the Ukraine in March found that Jews were victims of an organized harassment campaign. Many Ukrainian Jews received anonymous notices that read,

"We give you the last opportunity to leave our Ukraine. Get out if you don't want to die." The fact that Jewish families in the former Soviet Union can be threatened repeatedly, denied employment, have their children mocked and beaten in school, and receive death notices like this one—all because they are Jews and all with the authorities standing idle—is ample evidence that these families need America's continuing support to provide a lifeline. That is what the Lautenberg amendment does.

If there are abuses in the program, as SIMPSON states, we are prepared to work with him to address them, and I know that Senator LAUTENBERG joins in that commitment.

Those who come to the United States under this program are checked against lookout lists and criminal databases, as are others who seek to enter the United States. As in all immigration programs, we deny entry to known criminals and any others excludable under the law. The numbers requiring help and rescue under the Lautenberg amendment are declining. But we must not bring this historic help to a hasty and premature end.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two articles which describe some of the problems facing Jews in the former Soviet Union be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles are ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 27, 1995]

#### LIBERATORS OF AUSCHWITZ YET TO LEARN ITS LESSON

(By Wendy Sloane)

In the last few years, Alexander Kleiman has witnessed a series of attacks on the Moscow Choral Synagogue, one of only two synagogues left in the capital after a third burned down in unexplained circumstances.

Two years ago, vandals smashed several windows of the dilapidated building in central Moscow. This winter, "Save Russia, Kill the Zhids [a derogatory word for Jews]" was scrawled in bright paint across the building. A week later, the front façade was shot up with bullets.

"Russians learn to call a Jew a zhid from the moment they're born. Anti-Semitism is in their blood," says Mr. Kleiman, the synagogue's chief administrator.

"If the American president and Congress allowed all [Russian] Jews to immigrate," he says, "I can guarantee that 90 percent would leave."

As the world commemorates the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Army's liberation of the Nazis' Auschwitz death camp in Poland today, anti-Semitic sentiments are increasingly common in Russia, and the government is doing little to stem the tide.

#### SCANT ATTENTION

While Russians have complained that the world community has made little mention of the fact that it was largely Russians who liberated the camp, they have done little to commemorate the event themselves.

Alla Gerber, a Jewish deputy to the State Duma (lower house of parliament), said no ceremony would have been held in Russia had she not organized an event. Neither President Boris Yeltsin nor his closest aides will attend the ceremonies in Poland.

"The current period of economic crisis, combined with an absence of real power and a spiritual vacuum, is giving rise to fascism and anti-Semitism here," says Ms. Gerber, who represents the liberal Russia's Choice parliamentary faction and is one of the few deputies—who are both Jewish and non-Jewish—to speak out against anti-Semitism.

"What will happen depends on how the government decides to use the idea of Russian nationalism, either as a patriotic idea or as a totalitarian fascist one," she says.

President Yeltsin marked the anniversary Wednesday by rehabilitating millions of gulag prisoners who were imprisoned by Josef Stalin after World War II for suspected collaboration with Nazis. But he did not mention that most of the estimated 1.5 million people who died in the Auschwitz-Birkenau death factory were Jews.

In a speech to the United Nations last September, Yeltsin officially condemned anti-Semitism. But he has yet to do so on Russian soil.

"Both the authorities as well as leaders of democratic parties presume that if they make an official statement it will reduce their authority in the eyes of their electorate," says Mikhail Chlenov, chairman of the Vaad, an umbrella organization that brings roughly 275 Jewish groups together.

"I would say that anti-Semitism has become an integral part of Russian politics," he adds.

Politicians ranging from local deputies to ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy have risen to prominence on anti-Semitic platforms, and some senior bishops in the Russian Orthodox Church routinely accuse Jews of exerting undue influence.

Some Jewish leaders have received death threats, and members of anti-Semitic groups are often seen at public rallies, holding placards accusing Zionists of ruining the country as part of a "Jewish-Masonic conspiracy."

#### A STEP BACKWARD

Russia has "returned to a period of anti-Semitism, ultrareactionary [attitudes], and chauvinism, patronized by law-enforcement bodies," said Sergei Gryzunov, chairman of Russia's State Press Committee, at an international antifascist forum last week.

He referred in particular to the "huge number" of legally issued nationalist and chauvinist publications that have sprung up since the Soviet collapse.

But Viktor Korchagin, director of the Russian Patriot's Library publishing house, says he has a simple solution to what he terms the "Jewish question." To rid Russia of anti-Semitism, he says, Russia must simply rid itself of its estimated 750,000 Jews.

"We're not advocating the return of pogroms," he says, referring to the organized persecution and massacre of Jews in czarist Russia. "We just want President Yeltsin to decree that all Jews be deported."

Mr. Korchagin insists that he is targeting the "Jewish mafia"—which in his view includes all government ministers, all of Yeltsin's aides, and all the top editors of Russia's major newspapers—not the Jewish people.

"The most powerful mafia in Russia is the Jewish mafia. They steal from the people, but the editors don't write about it because they themselves are all Jews," he says. "If we don't want anti-Semitism to exist in Russia, then all Jews should leave."

According to a poll conducted by the respected National Center For Opinion Research, 45 percent of Russians believe that other nationalities should be expelled, while another 31 percent spoke out against equal rights for other races.

[From the Jewish Advocate, May 12-18, 1995]  
SYNAGOGUE BOMBING ROCKS RIGA COMMUNITY

(By Debra Nussbaum Cohen)

NEW YORK (JTA).—One day before Riga's Jewish community celebrated the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and the Holocaust, a bomber planted explosives at the Latvian city's sole remaining synagogue.

The bomb exploded at 4 a.m. local time in the early hours of the Sabbath day, shattering the Peitavas Synagogue's glass windows and light fixtures and ruining its basement sanctuary, according to Mordechai Glazman, one of two Lubavitch rabbis at the synagogue. There were no injuries.

Most of the community's Jewish residents, who number between 14,500 and 20,000, think that the bombing is related to what is known in Latvia as the Day of Freedom, which marks the end of the war, Glazman said in a telephone interview from Riga.

It is considered an especially significant holiday in the Jewish community, he said.

In the wake of the attack, Latvia's president and prime minister made unscheduled visits to the synagogue and Riga's Jewish cemetery to mark the holiday Monday.

The officials had originally planned to honor the Latvian, Russian and German soldiers who died in the war at their respective cemeteries, Glazman said.

They joined the Jewish community's leaders, Holocaust survivors and Jewish army veterans in a ceremony to honor the dead.

Latvia's president, Guntis Ulmanis, put flowers on a mass grave of Jewish soldiers, in the cemeteries and told the hundreds of people gathered that the government would do everything it can to apprehend and punish the perpetrators, Glazman said.

"The prime minister said that it's probably people with an interest in making a bad name for Latvia in the world who did this," he said.

There has been a disturbing rise in anti-Semitism in Riga, the rabbi said.

Last week, the police confiscated 1,000 copies of Mein Kampf and arrested the printer, who had produced Adolf Hitler's autobiography in Latvian. Four thousand copies had already been sold, said Glazman, and 5,000 more were scheduled to be printed.

Hundreds of the city's Jewish residents visited the synagogue Sunday to witness the damage for themselves.

The blast left the first-floor sanctuary, used for worship twice a day, unusable, said the rabbi's wife, Rivki Glazman.

[From the Jewish World, Mar. 3-9, 1995]

#### FREEDOM TO HATE JEWS IN TODAY'S RUSSIA (By Walter Ruby)

A top leader of ex-Soviet Jews in the United States believes that Jews in Russia face greater peril from an explosion of anti-Semitic violence today than at any time in memory.

Leonid Stonov, a longtime refusenik who emigrated to the U.S. in 1990 and today serves as president of the American Association of Russian Jews, told members of the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry (LICSJ) that he returned from a recent visit to Moscow fearful that a fascist takeover of Russia may be only weeks or months away.

Stonov, a leading representative of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, spoke recently by telephone from his home in Chicago with LICSJ members gathered at the North Woodmere home of Murray and Rhoda Dorfman.

"Russia is moving rapidly toward fascism in the same way that Germany did in the 1930s," said Stonov, "and, as in Germany, anti-Semitism is an integral part of the fascist movement."

According to Stonov, when the Russian State Duma—the lower house of Parliament—held hearings on fascism, “[ultra-nationalist leader Vladimir] Zhirinovskiy said that the real danger to Russia came from ‘democratic fascism,’ while others spoke of the perils of ‘Masonic fascism.’ Never before in Russia—even during Czarist time—had there been such open, animal expressions of anti-Semitism during parliamentary discussions.”

Stonov was speaking to LICSIJ members who had gathered to view a screening of *Freedom To Hate* on WLIW-TV (Channel 21), together with the film’s director, Ray Errol Fox. The hour-long documentary, narrated by Dan Rather and introduced by Jack Lemmon, explores the upsurge of anti-Semitism in the former Soviet Union.

*Freedom To Hate* includes extensive interviews with leaders of the neo-Nazi Pamyat movement, discussions of fascism and anti-Semitism with such prominent Russians as poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko and commentator Vladimir Posner, and interviews with Russian Jews victimized by anti-Semitic violence.

Though filmed mainly in 1990 and 1991, the documentary closes with a recent scene of Zhirinovskiy delivering a menacing speech, showing that the conditions portrayed in the film still exist.

Although Stonov noted that the fear of imminent pogroms in 1990–1991 has largely abated, he said that “the situation is far more dangerous for Jews today than it was when this film was being made. In those days, it was only Pamyat . . . a relatively small organization . . . that was openly espousing anti-Semitism. Today in Russia, there are 137 open anti-Semitic newspapers being sold on the streets . . . and the influence of the anti-Semitic organization is growing rapidly.”

He added, “The danger is not only from Zhirinovskiy. There is Alexander Barkashov, who heads his own growing anti-Semitic organization with its own private army. Another prominent anti-Semite is Nikolai Lysenko, who argues that Russians should be particularly afraid of Jews who forego involvement in Jewish affairs, but instead are active in Russian politics, business and cultural life.”

Lysenko is a former Pamyat member now in the Duma. Zhirinovskiy’s Liberal-Democratic party won about 25 percent of the vote in the parliamentary elections of 1992.

Stonov said he is concerned that with the collapsing popularity of President Boris Yeltsin in the wake of the brutal war in Chechnya, the heir apparent may be former vice president Alexander Rutskoi. Rutskoi was jailed by Yeltsin in October 1993 for inciting to rebellion, but the nationalist-dominated Parliament ordered him set free in early 1994.

Stonov noted that Rutskoi, formerly considered sympathetic to Israel and Russian Jewry, has in the past several years forged close political ties with the coalition of former Communists and Russian nationalists who believe Jews are responsible for many of Russia’s ills.

Asked about Rutskoi’s declaration during a 1992 visit to Israel that his mother was Jewish, Stonov wryly noted that during a visit to Warsaw, the former vice president had also declared his mother to have been Polish. In any event, said Stonov, Rutskoi’s comments in Israel were barely mentioned in the Russian media.

Queried as to why Russian emigration to Israel has dropped to one third the level of 1990–1991 if the peril to Jews has increased, Stonov responded, “One might also ask why, after the Los Angeles earthquake, people began rebuilding their houses.

“Many of the Jews who have remained in Russia have deep psychological roots there. Others have gone into business in Russia. They don’t want to believe the situation there will end like it did in Germany. Still, with the rapid worsening of the situation, I am expecting a major new wave of emigration.”

In the wake of Yeltsin’s Chechnya misadventure and increasing movement toward the right, Stonov contended that “the political situation in Russia is dramatically changing for the worse and the West seems to be unaware of what is happening. America doesn’t seem to understand that the democratic order in Russia is again under threat.

“I think the Clinton administration should be pressing the Russian government to move faster toward a market economy,” continued Stonov. “Credits should be given to Russia only if real privatization is carried out there. When the West gives credits without privatization, all the money just ends up in Swiss bank accounts.”

While attending an anti-fascist forum during his Moscow visit, Stonov found that all the democratic leaders feel extremely threatened by what is happening. “[Human Rights Commissioner] Sergei Kovalev had very sad words. He said, ‘We Russians are ruled by scum and we are scum for allowing that to happen.’”

Noting that Yeltsin has never directly denounced anti-Semitism in Russia, Stonov said, “Anti-Semitism is flourishing as never before, in part because there are no official constraints.” He added, “If there were free elections tomorrow, the fascists would probably not win in Moscow, but they would do very well in provincial areas like the Urals, parts of Siberia, and Krasnodar in southern Russia. The political position of the fascists is very strong, and they are now in a position to stimulate a pogrom from the podium in the State Duma.”

Stonov praised *Freedom to Hate* as “a very important work that will hopefully help to get across the message of how perilous the situation of Jews in the former Soviet Union really is.”

But, he said to the LICSIJ group, he has had a hard time getting the film screened. “Many people, including prominent Jews, have accused me of exaggerating the situation.

“Despite everything that has happened recently, there is still a kind of euphoria in this country among American Jews about the situation in Russia.

“The way that I present the situation is intense,” said Fox, “but everything I show is true. I don’t know how else to show the situation in order to get the message across.”

Lynn Singer, longtime executive director of LICSIJ, remarked, “All people of good will need to redouble our efforts to get out the word about the deadly peril facing Jews in the former Soviet Union.”

Mr. DORGAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Dakota.

#### CHILD ABUSE

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, yesterday I spoke here about the Interior conference legislation. I talked some about the issue of child abuse, particularly with respect to native Americans, and about some of the difficulties that I have witnessed and held some hearings about.

I described Tamara DeMaris, who was placed in a foster home at age 3 and severely beaten. Her nose was broken,

her arm was broken, her hair pulled out by the roots. Why? Because one person was handling 150 cases and did not have time to check where they were putting this 3-year-old kid, so this poor 3-year-old was put in an unsafe foster home where drunken brawls ensued and this child was beaten severely.

We need to do better than this. That was the point I was making yesterday. Children cannot deal for themselves. They are not responsible for themselves. We are responsible to help children in this country who are helpless, to give hope to children who are hopeless. It is our responsibility.

I read a few days ago a piece in Time magazine that I wish to read to the Senate, not in its entirety, but I would ask all of you to read the article in its entirety, because it, too, relates to the question of what are we doing to protect children in this country. I am not talking about the children that go to bed safe and secure at night in a good home, that is warm, having just had a good meal. I am talking about children who come from circumstances of poverty and neglect and abuse, and who cannot help themselves.

On the cover of Time magazine was a picture of a young girl named Elisa Izquierdo. Let me read part of the magazine article to you because it describes something we all must understand—behind all of these discussions about policies and numbers are people, some of whom are desperately reaching out for help.

“Little Elisa Izquierdo liked to dance, which is almost too perfect,” the article says, this article written by David Van Biema in the December 11 Time magazine. It says:

Fairy tales, especially those featuring princesses, often include dancing, although perhaps not Elisa’s favorite merengue. Fairy-tale princesses are born humble. Elisa fit that bill: she was conceived in a homeless shelter in the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn and born addicted to crack. That Elisa nevertheless had a special, enchanted aura is something that the whole city of New York now knows. “Radiant,” said one of her preschool teachers, remembering a brilliant smile and flashing black eyes. “People loved her,” adds another. “Everybody loved her.” And, unlikely as it may seem, there was even a prince in Elisa’s life: a real scion of Greece’s old royalty named Prince Michael, who was a patron of the little girl’s preschool. He made a promise to finance her full private school education up to college, which is about as happily ever after as this age permits.

Fairy tale princesses, however, are not bludgeoned to death by their mothers. They are not violated with a tooth brush and a hair brush, and the neighbors do not hear them moaning and pleading at night. Last week, two months before her seventh birthday, Elisa Izquierdo lay in her casket, wearing a crown of flowers. The casket was open, which was an anguished protest on someone’s part; no exertion of the undertaker’s art could conceal all Elisa’s wounds. Before she smashed her daughter’s head against a cement wall, Awilda Lopez told police, she had made her eat her own feces and used her head to mop the floor. All this over a period of weeks, or maybe months. The fairy tale was ended.